

the 17th parallel, but immediately rejected it. "We're not trying to overthrow the North Vietnamese government," he said. "There is no effort here to roll back the Communist world." What the U.S. must do, he added, is "to make it very clear that we ourselves are not going to be thrown out of South Viet Nam. And I believe we can do this in spite of the apocalyptic predictions by some people that this will lead to a world war with China or with the Soviet Union or to a homogenous Communist world."

Bundy also noted—and rejected—the alternative of carrying the war "ever further northward without regard to cities or population or boundaries or what country you are choosing to attack." That, he said, "is not the policy of the Administration." Its position, he went on, "is that we should stay there, that we should do our part as may become necessary, do only what is necessary, and seek constantly, as we have for months and months and months, to find a way to get this dangerous and difficult business to the conference room."

Morgenthau, admitting that his position "must come as a surprise to some listeners here," did not call for an immediate U.S. pullout. Instead he suggested that the U.S. try to hold a few coastal enclaves to show the Viet Cong that they cannot win a complete military victory. "I think our aim must be to get out of Viet Nam," he said, "but to get out of it with honor."

As soon as the debate went off the air, students and teachers swarmed around Bundy, trying to keep the argument going. "What about the napalm?" American University Government Professor Daniel Berman kept demanding. "I've answered you now three times, politely," said Bundy. "Oh, you have, have you?" snapped Berman. "Yes," said Bundy wearily, "I have."

THE PRESIDENCY

Unhappy Birthday

As a birthday party, it could have passed as a wake. Russia's Nikolai Fedorenko slouched in his chair, appearing, if possible, more morose than usual. Britain's Lord Caradon glumly stroked his chin. In the Secretary-General's chair, U Thant looked about as happy as an undertaker. Outside San Francisco's Opera House, where 1,000,000 persons had massed in the streets to cheer the birth of the United Nations 20 years ago, fewer than 2,000 were now gathered; inside were row upon row of empty seats. Adding to the gloominess of it all, the principal guest—President Lyndon Johnson—was notably subdued.

Such was the 20th anniversary celebration in San Francisco last week of the founding of the United Nations. Born in euphoric hope when delegates from 51 nations met in the Bay City in the closing days of World War II, the

U.N. today is divided by a series of internal problems ranging from its deadlock over assessments to its inability to raise a permanent peace-keeping force.

Breakfast with Harry. All week Johnson kept the world body on tenterhooks as to whether he would or would not be there. First he spread the word that he would not go unless he had something new and important to say. Then, even while confiding that his speech would not live up to that standard, he agreed to attend anyway. Then, at the last minute, he decided to arrive a day earlier than scheduled, throwing the celebration program into considerable confusion. Adding to the less than festive atmosphere was a blast by U.S. Republicans on the eve of Johnson's departure, accusing him of having

JON BRENNIS



JOHNSON ADDRESSING U.N. GROUP

Daring to be confident.

backed down in the U.S. fight to force Russia and other delinquent nations to ante up their assessments for U.N. peace-keeping operations. Everett Dirksen charged that the Administration's earlier vow had been "exposed as a bluff"; the backdown, he said, was a "staggering blow to the structure of the United Nations."

On the way west, Johnson stopped off to visit an old friend in Kansas City—Harry S. Truman, who occupied the White House when the U.N. was formed. For an hour, the 33rd and 36th Presidents of the U.S. talked over a breakfast table about the business of being President, and exchanged compliments. "In my historical memory, no President has made such an impression in the early part of his Administration as you have," said Truman. "We are deeply in debt to Mr. Truman for his vision," said Johnson. "And this is not a mutual admiration society," said Truman. "It's a statement of fact."

Despite that warm interlude, Johnson appeared stiff and serious when he mounted the stage of the Opera House. Beginning on a note of polite hope, he

declared that, "Where historically man has moved fitfully from war toward war, in these last two decades man has moved steadily away from war. More than 50 times in these 20 years, the United Nations has acted to keep the peace." He called for an "international war on poverty" and an "alliance for man," made a pitch for world birth control. Said Johnson: "Let us act on the fact that less than \$5 invested in population control is worth \$100 invested in economic growth."

In a near monotone, he continued: "As far back as we can look—until the light of history fades into the dusk of legend—such aspirations of man have been submerged and swallowed by the violence and the weakness of man at his worst. Generations have tried and failed. Will we succeed? I do not know, but I dare to be hopeful and confident."

Call for Help. Only once did the President seem really to breathe fire; that was when he talked about a subject on which the U.S. has received notably little help from the U.N.—Viet Nam. His voice raised, his face set, he declared: "I now call upon this gathering of the nations of the world to use all their influence, individually and collectively, to bring to the table those who seem determined to make war." Turning and looking at U Thant, Johnson added pointedly: "We will support your efforts, as we will support effective action by any agent or agency of these United Nations."

The speech drew little applause, and the clapping was more perfunctory than passionate.

THE VICE PRESIDENCY

What Hubert Said

Two more different men could hardly be imagined. There was Charles de Gaulle, soldier, statesman, and symbol of a nation's pride, who once wrote that a great leader must "possess something indefinable, mysterious." And there was Hubert Horatio Humphrey, the boy from the drug store in Huron, S. Dak., who likes to say that a politician must "never forget he's just one of the folks." Yet in their meeting last week amid the Louis XV antiques of Paris' Elysée Palace, the French President and the U.S. Vice President got on quite nicely together.

The session was set up on short notice: only three days before, at a State Department reception for Astronauts Jim McDivitt and Ed White, President Johnson had suddenly ordered the space twins to fly to the Paris Air Show—and sent Hubert along with them. When De Gaulle, out touring the French countryside, got the word, he invited Humphrey to drop by. The meeting, with U.S. Ambassador Charles Bohlen and an interpreter present, lasted 80 minutes.

"You Will Never Win." De Gaulle restated his well-known views on South-east Asia, and Humphrey, in rebuttal,



HUMPHREY LEAVING ELYSEE PALACE
Not quite so unapproachable.

defended the U.S. position. The U.S. is there, Humphrey said, to honor commitments made several years ago by President Eisenhower. Washington seeks only a free and independent South Viet Nam. But De Gaulle should have no doubt about American determination to remain in Viet Nam until a satisfactory settlement is reached. As Humphrey talked, De Gaulle shook his head, said gloomily: "You will never win." Continued American military pressure, De Gaulle observed, will only make Hanoi more stubborn. They agreed on only one point: that North Viet Nam had shown no sign whatever of willingness to negotiate.

Turning to the Dominican Republic, Humphrey urged that France withhold further criticism of actions by the OAS peace-keeping force. De Gaulle, recalling that he was acquainted with deposed Dominican President Juan Bosch, said he assumed that the U.S. had intervened in the first place to prevent Bosch's return to power. It was difficult to understand this, De Gaulle said, in view of the U.S. policy of nonintervention in Latin American affairs.

Humphrey emphatically denied that the U.S. opposed or prevented Bosch's return from exile in Puerto Rico, said Washington still wonders why Bosch did not go home immediately after the revolution was launched in his name. Then Humphrey restated in detail the U.S. case and the sequence of events in the Dominican Republic. De Gaulle said he was glad to hear this explanation.

Wanting to Know. De Gaulle recalled that he had met President Johnson briefly on just two occasions—in Paris when Johnson was Vice President-elect, and at John Kennedy's funeral. "I knew Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy," he said, "and now I want to know President Johnson."

This was far from being a formal invitation on De Gaulle's part for a meeting

with Johnson. And neither in this nor in anything else were substantive agreements or commitments achieved during the talk with Humphrey. The basic issues in the Franco-American dispute were not even mentioned. But that did not mean Hubert's visit was valueless. For one thing, this was a friendly exchange between leaders of two nations that have recently been distinctly unfriendly. For another, De Gaulle had not talked to a top American official other than Bohlen since last December, and in that period he has come to labor under some false assumptions about U.S. policy. Humphrey at least had an opportunity to set him straight.

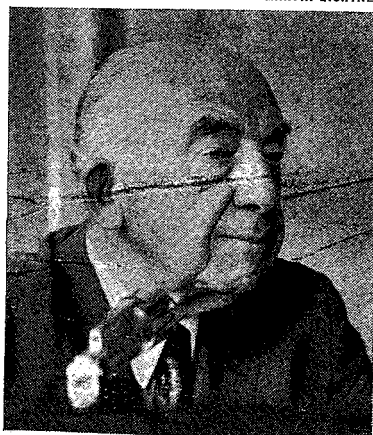
THE CONGRESS

"If We Ignore the Plight . . ."

In 1959, President Dwight Eisenhower was asked if he thought the U.S., in an attempt to cope with the population explosion at home and abroad, should play an open, active role in supporting birth control. Said Ike: "I cannot imagine anything more emphatically a subject that is not a proper political or governmental activity or function or responsibility."

Last week, in an 800-word letter to Alaska's Democratic Senator Ernest Gruening, Ike publicly changed his mind. Wrote he: "I realize that in important segments of our people and of other nations this question is regarded as a moral one, and therefore scarcely a fit subject for federal legislation. With their feelings I can and do sympathize. But I cannot help believe that the prevention of human degradation and starvation is likewise a moral—as well as a material—obligation resting upon every enlightened government. If we now ignore the plight of those unborn generations which, because of our unreadiness to take corrective action in controlling population growth, will be denied any expectations beyond abject poverty and suffering, then history will rightly condemn us."

The occasion for Ike's letter was the start of Senate committee hearings on



SENATOR GRUENING

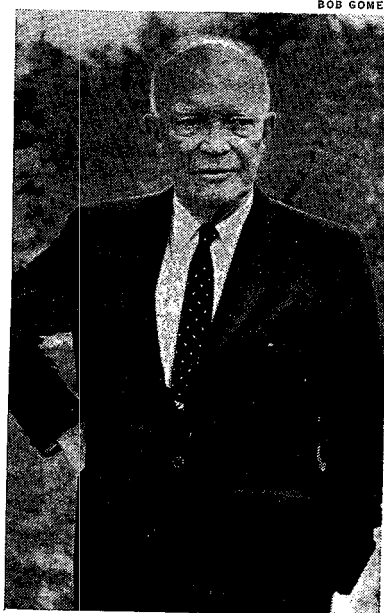
a bill, sponsored by Gruening, that would establish assistant secretaryships for population control in both the State Department and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. For Gruening, Ike's support was additional evidence that the subject of birth control is no longer politically unmentionable.

Gruening himself has been a birth control advocate since his 1912 graduation from the Harvard Medical School, and his advocacy has landed him in hot political water. In 1936, as Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administrator, he was shocked by the island's economically ruinous population growth. Using federal funds, he established 14 "maternal welfare clinics." That August he returned to the U.S. for a visit—and found himself an issue in Franklin Roosevelt's presidential campaign, accused of being anti-Catholic. He soon got a call from Jim Farley, F.D.R.'s political general. "Gruening," growled Farley, "what in hell is going on in Puerto Rico? Whatever it is, stop it. It's hurting us in the campaign." Gruening hurried back to Puerto Rico and closed down the clinics.

A Question of Value

Among the recommendations made by the Warren Commission after its investigation of President Kennedy's assassination was that Congress should pass a law making it a federal—as opposed to a state or local—crime to kill, kidnap or assault a President, Vice President, President-elect or Vice President-elect. Last week the House of Representatives passed a bill that would do just that, and more. In the case of assassination, the House measure would impose the death penalty.

Debate was scant, since there was virtually unanimous agreement as to the wisdom of having federal jurisdiction



EX-PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

No longer unmentionable.